



THE COMMEMORATOR

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Oakland, California

JUST SAY NO!



Trahan Jones.



Azania Howse



Farcia DeToles

JUST SAY NO TO THE MID-EAST MESS

By Leonard McNeil

Three African-American reservists have added their voices to the growing opposition to the war in the Persian Gulf by filing conscientious objection claims to discharge from the military.

Azania Howse, Farcia DeToles, both Army reservists in a transportation brigade at the Oakland Army Base, and Trahan Jones, a Marine reservist stationed in Hayward, California, enlisted after being persuaded by the military's misleading and deceptive ads that held out the promise of jobs, education and training.

In declaring her objection to all war Ms. Howse stated, "I cannot kill another human being. Just because I do not pull the trigger, that does not relieve me of the burden of responsibility for preventing war," referring to her military job as a typist.

DeToles who joined the Army when she was eighteen said she "had no idea what the military was about. I did not know the responsibility of being a soldier."

In declaring his moral opposition to war Jones said "My attitude and my thoughts toward the military did a 180-degree turn when the Persian Gulf crisis began. My respect for human life made me begin to question the indoctrination of the Marine Corps and the whole notion of war."

Around the country growing numbers of African-American servicepeople and civilians are raising questions about the disproportionate number of Black servicemen and women in the military itself and the number of Black troops deployed in the Persian Gulf.

Black women make up nearly 49 percent of all enlisted women in the Army, 30 percent of the Marines, almost 27 percent of the Navy's enlisted females and 24 percent of the Air Force's enlisted women.

African-Americans are 32 percent of the Army's enlisted ranks, almost 18 percent of the Navy, nearly 21 percent of the Marines and are over 17 percent of the Air Force's enlisted numbers.

In all branches of the service the percentage of African-Americans is higher than in the civilian population where Black people make up only 12 percent. There are 125,000 Black troops in the Persian Gulf.

Black soldiers were 28 percent of the deaths in Vietnam. If a shooting war starts in Kuwait, Black servicewomen, as well as servicemen face the potential of dying and being wounded in disproportionate numbers.

All of these figures are increasingly a source of concern in the African-American community which assailed the Bush administration's veto of the Civil Rights Act of 1990. (Bush claimed it represented quotas in the workplace.) President Bush seems to have little misgivings with the overrepresentation of African-Americans on the war front.

Nor is the President concerned about the disproportionate number of African-Americans who are incarcerated, unemployed or homeless. The number of young African-American males under

the control of the criminal justice system (609,690) is greater than the total number of Black men of all ages enrolled in college (436,000).

As federal programs for education were drastically cut during the two Reagan/Bush administrations the government is now moving to bar colleges from awarding scholarships for minorities. A recent study by the American Council on Education found that military enlistment is a factor in the declining number of Black college enrollment.

Bush's veto of the increase in minimum wage was a factor in the deteriorating economic and social conditions that contribute to Black youth enlisting in the armed forces for jobs, security, educational opportunities and health benefits. The vast majority of African-Americans who have joined the service since the end of the draft in 1973 have been tracked into low-skilled, entry-level support and service positions due to the bias in testing.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

BUYING A CAR, BLACKS/ WOMEN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST

Residents Organize to Save West Oakland

West Oakland community activists continued their grassroots campaign to halt "emergency redevelopment" plans proposed by the city's Office of Community Development (OCD) with an effort of door to door canvassing to enlist petition signatures and volunteers that is encouraging low income West Oakland renters, homeowners and small businessmen to take a stand "in the interest of the community's ability to survive, much less to start to thrive," in the words of Simon Teague, Acting President of Citizens Committee of Save West Oakland. Teague reports meetings in homes of concerned community residents are being organized regularly as the newly formed ad hoc grouping develops its program of demand for greater control by low income residents in determination of West Oakland's future.

The "redevelopment" plan which was roundly rejected by hundreds of angry West Oakland residents who packed a series of "community meetings" sponsored by OCD last spring and summer has been under discussion at Oakland city government level since at least 1985, but, according to community leaders, had become subject of a recent press for passage by local officials on the basis of the severe damage suffered by West Oakland as result of the Oakland 17, 1989 earthquake.

"They saw an opportunity, and they seized upon it to try and motor the same profiteering plans of destruction they had in the wings for years, but now, to rush it through and generate more sources of funds for it under the guise of emergency aid," said Winfield Baggett, Committee Secretary. "In actuality, residents whose homes were destroyed and damaged by the quake stand to lose a lot more than they can hope to gain under this so-called 'Neighborhood Commercial Revitalization Plan'."

The use of the Governor's proclamation of State of Emergency relies on the disaster exemption of the California Environmental Quality Act to bypass usual development requirements for environmental impact reports. However, community leaders such as Teague refute the notion that the current plan will provide urgently needed disaster relief. Teague reports that volunteer canvassing by Committee members in West Oakland neighborhoods projected for area "redevelopment" inclusion has revealed 30% of the residents struggle to survive on annual incomes of less than \$5,000.00, far below the costs of housing that would replace their current homes, and in the designated area of West Oakland, nearly 100% of current housing is inhabited by low-income families. Petition signers agree that the plan's requirement of razing current housing and replacing it with

new or rehabilitated units "at least 30% affordable housing" will guarantee displacement of thousands.

Baggett explains, "We do want construction and other development that will bring decent paying jobs, more affordable housing and renovation and rehabilitation of existing stock in our area to the benefit of low-income residents and economy of our community in general. However, it appears that this plan would accomplish anything BUT that. This plan is not a plan which will benefit West Oakland residents but will pave the way for real estate speculators to make millions off redeveloping this community at the direct expense of the poor. It goes without saying that West Oakland is in great need of economic change. But the question is this: CHANGE FOR WHOM; TO SERVE THE INTEREST OF WHOM THOSE OF THE BROADEST MAJORITY OF THE COMMUNITY OR A RELATIVELY FEW PROFITEERS?"

After the community's clear-cut opposition to the plan was made known, city council postponed discussion of the subject. OCD insiders who asked not to be named report that when "community input formats" served to be "more excitable rather than informative," they were switched to smaller private "community outreach" meetings

by invitation to selected organizations and institutions to "sell" the plan before it would come forward for further public scrutiny. Baggett reports that open community forums have been halted, and no organization which took formal positions against any redevelopment that fails to provide guarantees for current residents as to what the end result of the redevelopment process would mean for low-in-

come residents have been contacted by OCD.

The Citizens Committee petition demands the plan be rejected in its current form, and states that "any plan to revitalize West Oakland for the benefit of the people who live here must begin with jobs at higher wages. Only when we have more money in our pockets to spend at local businesses

Continued on page 4

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BLACKS AND WOMEN ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST WHEN BUYING A CAR

Blacks and women who bargain for a new car are paying higher final prices than white men, according to a new study by a Northwestern University law professor.

"Black men and women were having to pay two to three times the markup of white men," said Ian Ayres, who conducted the study for the American Bar Foundation.

White women, he said, generally paid a 50 percent higher markup than white men.

The study began three years ago and involved 90 Chicago-area dealerships.

In the first study, three white male researchers divided among themselves dealerships selling the same brand of domestic new car, then tried to get the best deal.

Each dealership also was visited at

about the same time by one of three other researchers — a white woman, a Black woman and a Black man — who bargained over the same car. The researchers dressed similarly, were within the same range of attractiveness and worked from the same script.

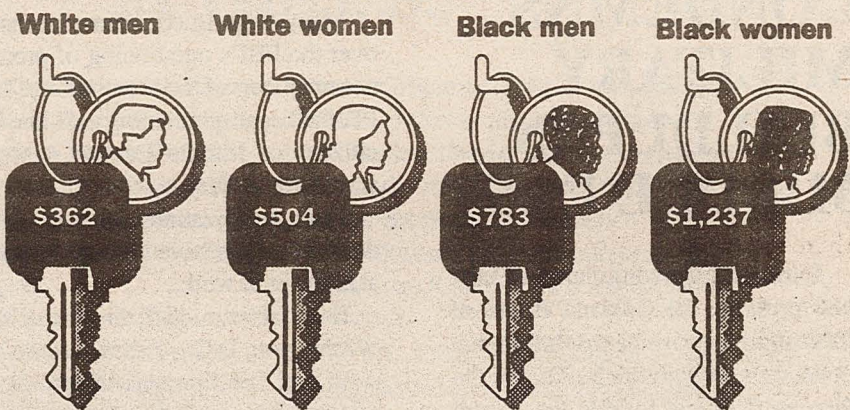
The make and model of the car was not disclosed, but researchers estimated the dealers' cost at about \$11,000.

The study found that white men received final offers that averaged about \$11,362 on a new car with a sticker price of \$13,465.

The white woman was given an average final price of \$11,504, the Black man an average final price of \$11,738 and the

RACE, SEX BIAS IN CAR SALES

Average prices above estimated dealers' cost of \$11,000



SOURCE: Chicago Tribune, Northwestern University

Black woman an average price of \$12,237.

A more comprehensive follow-up study involved 36 testers and visits to 275 to 300 area dealerships. It yielded similar results, except that Black men were given slightly higher final prices than Black women, Ayres said.

The study offered two possible routes to curbing discriminatory practices in the new-car marketplace. One would be to broaden existing civil rights laws to include a ban on unfair commercial bargaining practices; the other, government regulation of new-car sales practices.

RACIST SUPERVISOR MUST PAY HARASSED BLACK WOMEN

SAN FRANCISCO — The state civil-rights commission has decided that a supervisor's racial jokes and slurs against Black people amounted to harassment of two Black women who worked for him at a foster-home certification firm.

The commission ordered Jerry Wilkerson and the Right Way Homes agency in the Sacramento suburb of Fair Oaks to pay Margaret Martin and Regana McKinney \$50,000 in damages each for emotional distress caused by Wilkerson's "blatant cruelty."

Besides the damages, the commission ordered Right Way, and Wilkerson, who was the company's executive director, to educate and train future em-

ployees on preventing racial harassment.

During Martin's three years and McKinney's two years of employment, Wilkerson regularly referred to Black children placed by the agency as "knuckle-dragging gorillas," said the Fair Employment and Housing Commission.

The commission also said Wilkerson called Martin "black Margaret," frequently told racist jokes to the staff, and once told McKinney that she should be used to riding in the back seat.

The firm was one of numerous non-profit agencies licensed by the state and under contract to counties to investigate foster homes and certify them for placement of abused, neglected or emotionally disturbed youths.

It also trained foster parents and owned some group homes for youths.

Martin, hired as a secretary in June 1986 and later promoted to be Wilkerson's administrative assistant, was subjected to a "constant barrage of racial comments, slurs, jokes and other derogatory remarks" by Wilkerson until she resigned in July 1989, the commission said.

McKinney was hired as a group home care manager in March 1986 and later became a recruiter and trainer of foster home parents. She said Wilkerson told a racist joke at their first training session, when she was the only Black person present, and made racial remarks every time she saw him.

MARTIN LUTHER KING The DREAM Cannot Die



MAJORITY OF WHITES BELIEVE BLACKS AND HISPANICS ARE LAZY

A majority of whites questioned in a nationwide survey said they believe Blacks and Hispanics are likely to prefer welfare to hard work and tend to be lazier than whites, more prone to violence, less intelligent and less patriotic.

Authors of the survey, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, said the results show that despite progress in race relations since the 1950's, whites' negative images of Blacks and other minorities continue to be pervasive.

The beliefs in part explain white resistance to government help such as affirmative action and quotas for minority groups, and the opposition of some whites to race-mingling and neighbor-

hood integration — even though they may support equality in theory.

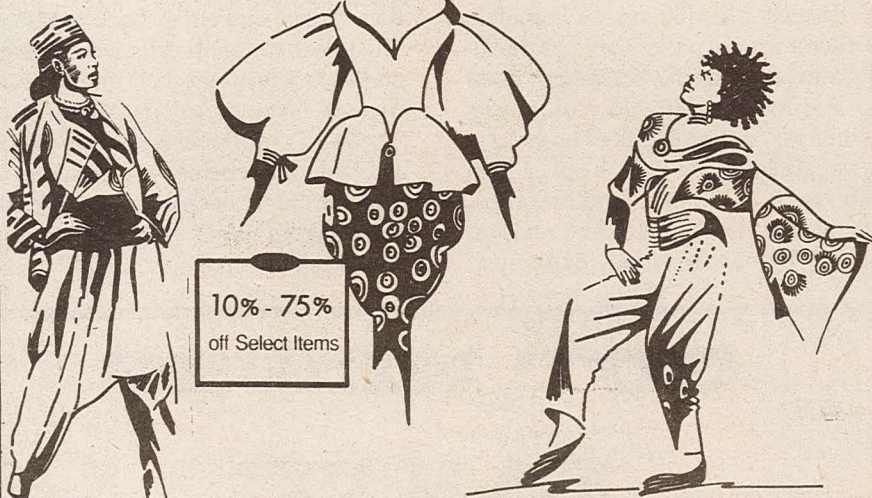
"All this says is that in part the reason why people are against affirmative action or quotas is that they have images of minorities that brand minorities as undeserving of help, that is they think they are less hard-working and they think they are more likely to want to live off welfare," said Tom W. Smith of the research center.

The sources of these feelings are historically complex and rooted deeply in the culture, said Lawrence Bobo, professor of sociology at the University of California at Los Angeles and head of a committee that designed the survey questions.

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SCHOOL BOARD CONDEMNS MILITARY BUILDUP IN MIDDLE EAST

Joining the growing chorus of anti-war protests, the Oakland Board of Education approved a resolution that condemns the military buildup in the Persian Gulf and forbids the district from selling students' names and phone numbers to military recruiters.

School board president, David Anderson said, "We have to make a statement, even if it's a small one. We're not raising our children to go over and fight for the rich."

In the past, the Army's Northern California recruiting district paid \$150 for its list from Oakland.

Oakland, San Francisco, Fremont and San Lorenzo school districts were in an apparent minority of Bay Area districts that still give students' names and phone numbers to military recruiters.

Many districts, including Berkeley, Piedmont and Emeryville, refused to give the military any lists. Richmond began withholding the list three years ago.

DELLUMS: EXTEND SANCTIONS

In a long-shot attempt to avert war in the Persian Gulf, Eastbay Rep. Ron Dellums says members of the House of Representatives want President Bush to give economic sanctions more time to work against Iraq.

Dellums, co-chair of an ad-hoc group of 82 house members who have challenged Bush's handling of the crisis said the House members offered a compromise resolution to counsel against the immediate use of force, in favor of sanctions.

ARAB AMERICANS HARASSED BY FBI

Many Arab Americans are incensed over the FBI's questioning of prominent members of their community. The FBI has begun questioning well-known citizens of Middle Eastern descent across the country.

Arab organizations estimate hundreds of people have been questioned at home or at work.

Hala Jabbour, staff director of the Washington, D.C. - based American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, said initially Arab American leaders thought the FBI was responding to their worries about recent racist acts against Arabs. Since the Aug. 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, hate crimes against Arabs have increased and the civil rights group asked the FBI to investigate.

An Orange County gas station manager received a call threatening to burn down the station, and a young Palestinian was hit in a Chicago market

and told to go back to Iraq, she said.

But rather than comfort Arab Americans that the government is trying to curb the rise of hate crimes against them, the impromptu FBI interrogations have left people feeling persecuted.

"The idea is adding insult to injury," said Mohammed Hijazi, president of the Arab Cultural Center in San Francisco.

"I thought McCarthyism is dead and J. Edgar Hoover is not alive and kicking. I don't recall any criminal act in the continental U.S.A. in 200 years or more."

Hijazi said FBI agents came to the cultural center twice looking for him and were supposed to call him at work, but has not so far.

"I will talk with them, but I don't like it," he said. "I have nothing to hide."

Hijazi, as are many other prominent

Arab Americans, is a naturalized U.S. citizen.

And because they are citizens, they should expect protection, not intimidation from the government, said U.S. Rep. Don Edwards, D-San Jose, who met with FBI representatives recently.

A former FBI agent himself, Edwards said, "It's an ongoing problem we have with the FBI. We think this is a free country and we are entitled to be left alone by the FBI or police departments."

Victor Ajlouny, vice-president of the Silicon Valley Congress of Arab-American Associations, has several theories.

"Is this to intimidate Arab Americans from protesting against the war if it happens?" he asked.

"Is this another way of the U.S. signaling Saddam Hussein that we are getting ready for war?"

West Oakland Residents Organize

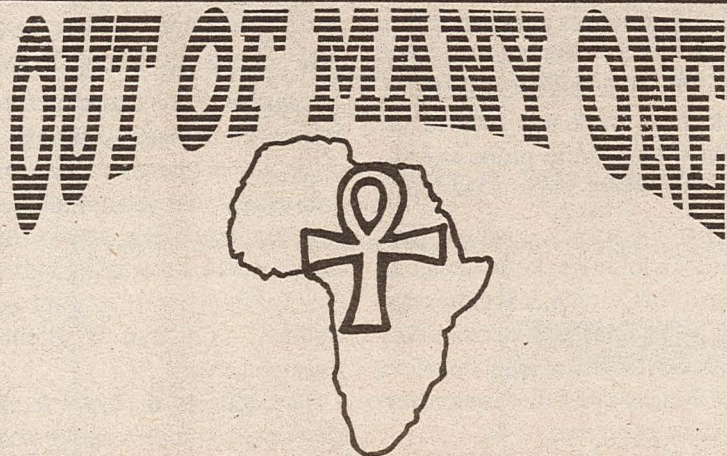
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will business in West Oakland prosper, and reopen abandoned storefronts." The petition also points to serious concern about potential misuse of powers of eminent domain and weak guarantees of replacement housing.

The plan covers an area of over 1200 acres of an anticipated costs of \$252 million, and bypasses the much publicized pocket of residential hotels located on the southern edge of downtown Oakland, which sustained the largest outright loss of housing in the city. According to current county and city projections, living units in these hotels will be rebuilt in part through use of Alameda County's \$11 million share from settlement of a Legal Aid Society suit against the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Former residents of the damaged hotels are watching projected plans for construction closely in light of San Francisco's decision not to rebuild residential hotels, but instead to finance construction of homeless shelters, which in the words of objections to terms of the settlement filled by Earthshock '89-'90 Committee members, "institutionalizes homelessness caused by the quake rather than solving it." Joanne Yankey, community activist and one-time resident of the Woodrow Hotel, explained,

"You can't get your own room or privacy at a shelter. At the Woodrow, I was able to accumulate a wardrobe, come in out of the rain, and at least had more security than I would have had at a shelter."

Teague sums up the Committee's position, "Suddenly, years of isolation and abandonment have been broken, and West Oakland is being dubbed the 'Gateway to the City.' We have before us a plan that will force out the current residents, who will not be able to afford to live in their 'renewed' neighborhood, which will serve the interests of those with the capital to invest toward their own personal profit, to the immediate and long term detriment of the majority of the people of our West Oakland community. It is ironic that in the wake of the October 17 earthquake, FEMA and other government aligned agencies have denied aid to an overwhelming majority of applicants who suffered quake damage in the West Oakland area and needed 'renewal,' in the form of reconstruction and renovation, to put their lives back together. Most of these applicants were denied on the grounds that their homes were deemed 'liveable.' Yet in the name of 'renewal,' millions are being made available for schemes that threaten to evict current residents and small businesses from West Oakland without proper relocation."



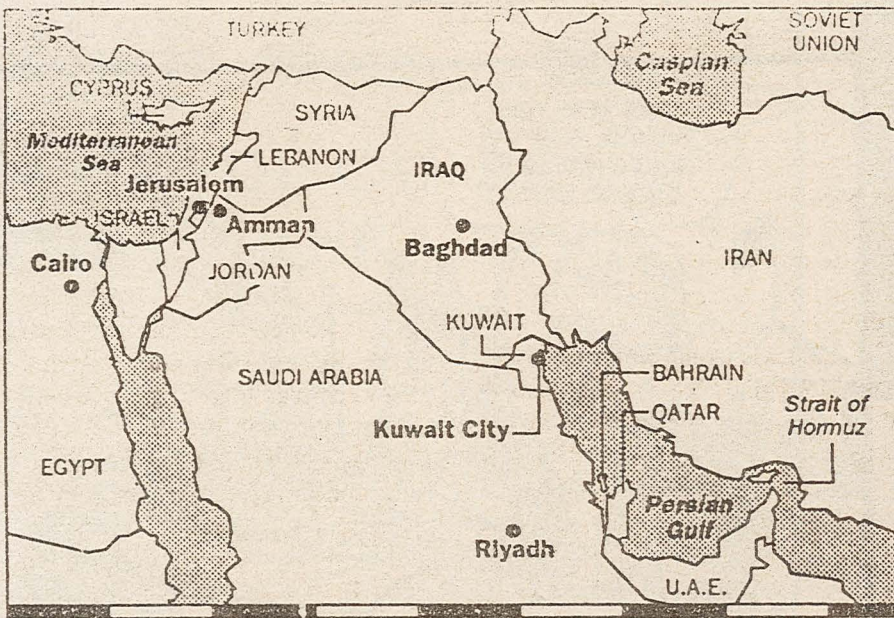
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JUST SAY NO TO THE MIDDLE EAST MESS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Howse, DeToles and Jones represent a growing number of African-Americans form the largest core of opposition to war in the Middle East. While African-American resistance is grounded on religious, moral and ethical objections, issues of race, class and social justice cut at the core of its resistance.

Jones notes that, "Blacks have been used as cannon fodder throughout history."

Ronald Jean-Baptiste was confined to the McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey for nearly three weeks after the Haitian-born reservist refused to go to the Gulf, citing racial bias and family hardship. Baptiste, who said the Air Force refused to accept his blood during basic training in 1988, maintained that the military should not expect him to spill his blood in the Arabian desert.

Eric Hayes, a 24-year old Marine reservist and president of the Black Student Association at Southern Illinois University, was arrested December 12 and taken to Camp Lejeune, North Carolina where his unit was training for deployment to the Persian Gulf. Hayes said that he did not want to be "a pawn in America's power play for oil profits in the Middle East."

Addis Wiley, a soldier stationed in Germany, reportedly requested regulations regarding conscientious objection claims and was charged by the military with intent to miss movement and

fraudulent enlistment.

The last active duty task for Mike Bowden, ex-Air Force member, was to bring home the body bags of Marines killed in the Beirut bombing in October 1983. Once homeless, Bowden is today organizing anti-war protests in Philadelphia. He asserts, "When brothers and sisters come home and take off their uniforms what they have to look forward to is homicide, homelessness and drugs."

Larry Moore leads a Milwaukee coalition which recently held a press conference to protest a Persian Gulf war. It was staged in early December at the site where a 17-year old African-American was gunned down during a dispute over a leather jacket. Moore says the message at the press conference articulates the sentiments of many African-Americans: "Bring the troops home and declare war on the conditions that have caused poverty, drug abuse and violence in the community."

New York activists have formed the African-American Coalition Against U.S. Intervention. They say their protest of the gulf war is linked to the U.S. invasions of Grenada, Panama and U.S. threats of aggression against Cuba and other third world countries.

In Oakland and Berkeley, California, Rev. Will Herzfeld, pastor of Bethlehem Lutheran Church and Rev. Dorsey Blake, of the Center for Urban Black Studies and the Ecumenical Peace Institute have



added their voices as Black ministers opposed to war in the Middle East.

The American Friends Service Committee's youth and militarism program is forming a speakers bureau comprised of African-American Vietnam veterans and the more recent Black war resisters to do specific outreach to the African-American community.

Two Oakland school board members, Sheila Jordan and Toni Cook want the district to stop giving students' names to military recruiters and have drafted a resolution to condemn the "reckless drive toward war in the Middle East." Ms. Jordan said, "This war is impacting upon the schools directly. The recession it's bringing will cut resources for the schools." The Oakland Unified School District is 64 percent African-American.

Black people have fought and died in all the wars that the U.S. has been involved in. We have fought to make the world safe for democracy and we have fought and died for the four freedoms. Historically, the African-American soldier has been asked to defend the system in distant lands and are destroyed by the system at home. African-Americans are still struggling for social equality, economic justice and political power. Azania Howse, Tahan Jones, Farcia DeToles and other war resisters have joined other Black people who have said no to war: Malcom X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Claudia Jones Charlotta Bass, W.E.B. DuBois, Fannie Lou Hamer, Mark Allen, Cleveland Sellers, Walter Collins and Michael Simmons, to name a few.

DESERT SHIELD CAUSES DROP IN ENLISTMENTS

New enlistments in the Marines have seen a "slight decrease" since August, when the United States sent the first of more than 400,000 troops to the Persian Gulf area, said Marine Corps spokeswoman Maj. Nancy LaLuntas.

Meanwhile, the Navy has failed to meet its goals for new enlistment contracts in September through November. These so-called "off the street" enlistments fell nationwide.

Navy and Marine Corps enlistments are down nationwide, and military recruiters suspect the threat of war in the Persian Gulf is partially to blame.

"Right now we believe (Operation) Desert Shield may be starting to show an impact," said Lt. Gene Elliott, Oakland-based spokesman for Navy recruiting for the 10 western states, where new enlistments have been down since October.

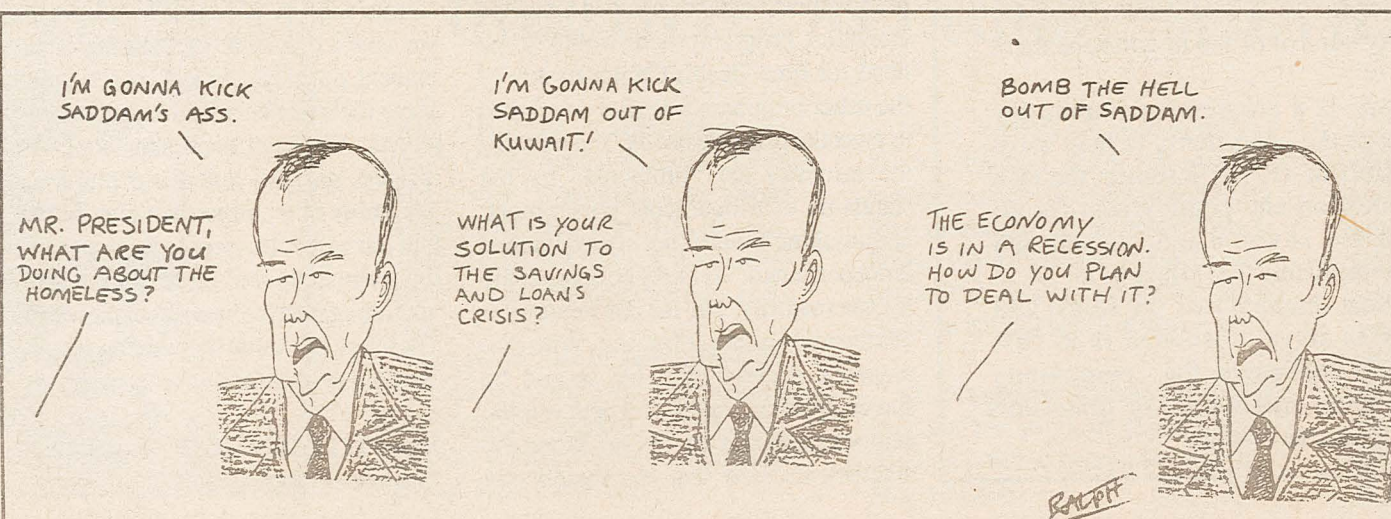
N.O.W. WANTS U.S. OUT OF GULF

The National Organization for Women called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Persian Gulf, saying the "oppressive regimes of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are not worth the sacrifice of American lives."

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THE COMMÉMORATOR

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"SERVING ALL OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES"

Volume I Number 3 January 1991 Oakland, California

REACTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM

For the second time in little over a year the U.S. government has turned on a former friend. After paying Panama's president Noriega millions for his services for the CIA in Central America, Bush sent American troops to capture the head of state for "drug dealing." Before and during the Iran-Iraq war the U.S. supported Saddam and supplied the Iraqi military with money and war materials. Now Bush wants to capture or kill Saddam.

President Bush claims Saddam must go because he invaded Kuwait and took over a sovereign state; ignoring the fact that the U.S. invaded and set up "friendly" governments in both "Grenada and Panama. He argues his right to send troops to the Middle East because of the Iraqi invasion; although that same U.N. Security Council condemned his invasion of Panama.

Neither Bush nor the U.N. advocated sending troops to attack Israel for invading and permanently occupying Palestinian territories over the years.

The U.S. government has made itself the world's police force and it is no surprise that its image is the same as that of its domestic (city, state and federal) law enforcement agencies: hypocritical, corrupt, racist, brutal and oppressive.

What President Bush calls "a new world order," Dr. Huey P. Newton called reactionary intercommunalism years ago, and the only antidote is revolutionary intercommunalism.

QUOTATION IN FOCUS

"Part of why I feel this (Persian Gulf Crisis) is insane is that it's the American underclass going over there to fight, not the sons and daughters of the people in Washington who are making the 'brave' decision to save them... President Bush's son is involved in buying Savings and Loans, not in defending his father's honor in the Middle East."

—Peter Scarlett, S.F. Film Society director

THE COMMÉMORATOR'S STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The *Commemorator* is free of charge to the general public throughout the Bay area. Its present circulation is 10,000 copies. The newspaper encourages grassroots organizing and networking for people empowerment and community control of the institutions there of.

In other words, the *Commemorator* is a progressive community forum. It offers the community at large the opportunity to help solve some of the critical problems that affect us all. For instance, the lack of decent shelter, medical care, education and employment for all people as well as the pollution of the environment, racism and discrimination at large are indeed real problems that affect us all.

It is generally recognized by critical thinkers that the surest and fastest (and perhaps the only) way to solve a problem is to first acknowledge it — the *Commemorator* challenges the community at large to act in its broadest interest by supporting grassroots development for positive and progressive change.

Opinion-Editorial



HUEY'S CORNER



CONTINUED FROM LAST MONTH

Serving the true interests of the people, however, does not mean that the vehicle is simply a reflector of public opinion, for the opinions of the people have often been molded and directed against their true interests by slick politicians and exploitative educators. Their diversion tactics often lead the people down blind alleys or onto tangents which take them away from their goals. We can easily see this when we apply the concept of American democracy to the Black community.

Democracy in America means nothing more than the domination of the majority over the minority. That is why Black people can cast votes all year long but if the majority is against us, we suffer. Then the politicians and educators try to deceive the community with statements such as, "It's rule by the majority, but the rights of the minority are protected." If, in fact, participating in the democratic process in America were in the interest of the Black community there would be no need for a Free Breakfast Program, there would be no need for Free Health Clinics or any of the other programs we have developed to meet the people's needs. The rights of the minority are "protected" by the standards of a bourgeois government, and anything which is not in their interest is not permitted. This may be democratic for the majority, but for the minority it has the same effect as fascism. When the majority decreed that we should be slaves, we were slaves — where was the democracy in slavery for us? When the majority decreed that we should pay

taxes, fight and die in wars, and be given inferior and racist education against our interests, we got all of these things. Where is democracy for us in any of that? Our children still die, our youth still suffer from malnutrition, our middle-aged people still suffer from sickle-cell anemia, our elderly still face unbearable poverty and hardship because they reach the twilight period of their lives with nothing to sustain them through these difficult times. Where is the democracy in any of this for Black people? Democracy means only that the majority will use us when they need us and cast us aside when they don't need us. A true understanding of the working and effect of American democracy for Black people will reveal most clearly that it is just the same as fascism for us. Our true interests and needs are not served.

The Black Panther Party was born in a period of stress when Black people were moving away from the philosophy and strategy of non-violent action toward sterner actions. We dared to believe that we could offer the community a permanent political vehicle which would serve their needs and advocate their interests. We have been slandered, kidnapped, gagged, jailed and murdered. We know now, more than ever before, that the will of the people is greater than the technology and repression of those who are against the interests of the people. Therefore we know that we can and will continue to serve and educate the people.

From TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE, "Statement May 1, 1971."

OPEN MIKE



"BE ALL YOU CAN BE" —(ONLY) IN THE ARMY

Hanging on the wall of Bertha Sanchez's home in Los Angeles are pictures of her two sons. One is wearing his Navy uniform. The other is attired in the colors of the Army.

The photos speak volumes about pride. They tell visitors: "My sons are a success. They are brave, handsome and proud to serve and defend their country."

As in the Sanchez home, photos of young men dressed in their military best are prominently displayed in Latino homes across America.

In 1973, when the all-volunteer armed forces were created, thousands of Latinos rushed to join the military. Many of them signed up because the military represented a job and a secure future.

Many were also following in the footsteps of their fathers. Latinos have fought in each of America's wars. Proportionately, Latinos have received more Medals of Honor than any other group of Americans.

Now, more than 100,000 Latino soldiers, including the Sanchez brothers, face war with Iraq in the Middle East.

Like African Americans, Latinos are overrepresented in the forces arrayed against Saddam Hussein. The situation conjures up memories of the Disproportionate number of minorities who fought and died in Vietnam.

It is troubling that with so many minority soldiers serving in the gulf, people of color are being bombarded by the very government they are sworn to defend.

President Bush vetoed a civil rights bill dealing with fair employment practices because "it would lead to hiring quotas."

Sen. Jesse Helms, the conservative Republican from North Carolina, won

re-election by using campaign ads purposely designed to divide voters along color lines.

William Bennett, before bowing out as head of the Republican National Committee, promised to make affirmative action an issue against Democrats in the 1992 elections.

Michael Williams, an assistant secretary of education, moved to ban all college financial aid targeted for minority students. That backfired and now Williams wants to stop colleges from using money from their general operating budgets for minority scholarships.

And while Republicans are having a field day trampling the few programs designed to help minorities, membership in hate groups such as the White Aryan Resistance and the Ku Klux Klan has grown by 31 percent in the last two years.

And during the 1980's the so-called "Decade of the Hispanic," the number of poor Hispanic families grew from 875,000 in 1982 to 1.1 million in 1988.

Bush and Co. uttered not a word about quotas or affirmative action when the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies in Washington reported this month that nearly half of the nation's black children live in poverty.

They are also silent on the quota issue when it comes to serving on the front lines in Saudi Arabia.

Apparently, the U.S. military is one of the few institutions in American society where the sons and daughters of people like Bertha Sanchez can do their job and not worry about the dreaded "quota" word. In America's war machine, they can be all that they can be.

—Angelo Figueroa, S.F. Examiner



RESPONDING TO RADICAL RACISM

David Horowitz
Barely Remembered

By Elaine Brown
(Copyright May 1990)

USING HUEY TO ATTACK BLACK PEOPLE

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE

Summed up in the frequency of his references to Huey as a "crazy nigger," Horowitz's racism emerges full blown. With neither compunction nor apology, Horowitz licenses himself to invoke that offensive phrase by attributing it to Huey. Relishing the opportunity to use the taboo term, he completely misunderstands the nuance and heritage of it

Horowitz states:

"His grandfather, a white, had conceived Newton's father in rape... [giving] Huey... the mark... violence, [t]he *Crazy Nigger* persona [which] became part of Huey's own ambition."

The fact is that Huey's father was but one of millions of Blacks who have been, generation upon generation, thrust into life by White rape — although a minor distinction might be made here, since the rapist was a Louisiana Jew named Simon. The by-product of such rapes — including that of my grandmother's mother — was more profound than the creation of a "crazy nigger persona."

There was the deep disruption of the Black family. There was a mass, biological inheritance of indignity and a sense of inferiority, of self-denial and self-denigration. There was the wholesale loss of identity. The violence of such rapes of Black mothers produced fear and pain and rage.

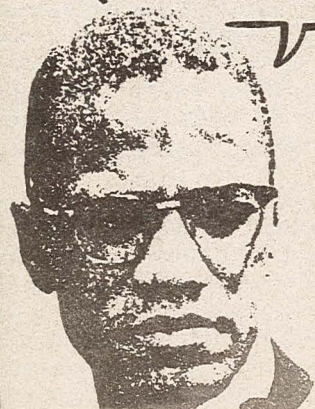
Moreover, the violence suffered by Blacks through such rapes, over the centuries of chattel slavery and decades thereafter, was compounded by the

violence of the entire slave experience, was integrated into the violence of gangs of Whites post-Emancipation, and reverberated in the violence of Black ghettoization. If Huey Newton responded to that heritage of violence by merely becoming a "crazy nigger," he was no different than the rest of us alienated Africans. If he felt, as a result — for which Horowitz lambasts him — that "white people were criminals because they [had] plundered the world," he echoed the feelings of most Blacks in America. If he ultimately sought, as he did, despite the rapes, despite slavery and its bitter fruit, to liberate a whole people from that violence, in that he was superior.

That Horowitz chooses to dismiss the holocaustal horror of the Black experience in America in his denunciation of Huey as a "crazy nigger" serves as clear and convincing evidence of his racism. He goes further, however. He uses Huey to thrust himself into the Black experience, without invitation or knowledge, only to insult Black people at every opportunity. At one point, for example, he irreverently refers to an off-color limerick, imputed to Huey, as part of a Black "ghetto ritual" (even though his lyrical referent is also revelatory of his racism, since what he quotes as "capping," every Black person knows is "playing the dozens"). Propping himself up with such "ghetto" quotes, Horowitz seems satisfied that he is credentialed to analyze the role and relevance of Huey

Continued on page 8

Remember
February 17



HOROWITZ ATTACKS "SOUTH AFRICA"

LOS ANGELES — Public television station KCET, which renewed "South Africa Now," a news magazine whose recent cancellation generated protests, could lose its FCC license if a conservative media watchdog group has its way.

The Committee of Media Integrity, which had claimed credit for the show's cancellation in October, has asked the Federal Communications Commission to yank KCET's license.

David Horowitz, a spokesman for the conservative group (he also attempted to stop Bay Area station KQED from showing the documentary, "Black Power, Black Panthers"), said the petition will be withdrawn if KCET establishes an elected board of directors.

KCET president William Kobin said the group's requests are part of a long-standing effort to control the station's programming.

"These charges and demands are preposterous, and are clearly an attempt to use the processes of the FCC to further their private interests," Kobin said.

"South Africa Now" was originally canceled in October, but the news show, presented from a Black perspective, was renewed for six episodes. (The show airs occasionally on Fridays on KQEC, channel 32, and on Monday on KQED, channel 9.)

USING HUEY — ELAINE BROWN ON RADICAL RACISM

Continued from page 7

Newton and the Black Panthers.

He suggests, then, that it was Huey's release from a six-month jail sentence in the year 1965 (for a West Oakland knife fight — the facts of which Horowitz confounds to maintain his theme) that prompted Huey to initiate the Black Panther Party. Horowitz depicts that year as one in which "Malcolm X had been killed, and a ghetto insurrection had occurred in Watts... and when Berkeley's first big demonstration against the war in Vietnam had spilled over into Oakland [sic]." By stringing together those events and blanching over the times, Horowitz, first, pretends that "White radicals" in Berkeley influenced Huey in Oakland to form the Black Panther Party — further authorizing his own invasion into the Black experience.

Horowitz then stampedes across history. He puts his boot not only to the

oppressive conditions of the Black experience that actually triggered Huey to found the Party, but also to the realities of the time. There was a "Black Power" Movement raging at that time, wherein millions of Black people across America, North and South, were raising their clinched fists and their voices in the cry "freedom now!" That Movement had been sparked by the work — not the assassination — of Malcolm X. It was being carried not only in the flames of the powerful Watts Uprising, but also in the organized actions erupting across Black America by a large number of groups proclaiming "Black Power" — though not in an anti-war demonstration in Berkeley.

Finally, Horowitz completely and cavalierly tramples over the significance and scope of Black people's long-standing heritage of fighting for freedom. That forms the cornerstone of his racism.

By isolating Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party in time and circumstance, Horowitz disrespects and discredits the legitimacy of the entire Black struggle for liberation.

That struggle began the day Blacks were snatched from African shores. Men and women, old and young, strong and infirm, actually leapt overboard slave ships, during the decades and decades of "The Crossing," in suicidal resistance to slavery. It continued through countless slave revolts and uprisings, led by men such as Nat Turner (during which uprising the most violent acts were carried out by Turner's lieutenant, a Black man who was the product of his mother's rape by a white slaveholder). It continued through the Underground Railroad of Harriet Tubman to the Niagara Movement of W.E.B. DuBois to the self-help Movement of Marcus Garvey to the Organization of Afro-American

Unity of Malcolm X.

That struggle for liberation has been against an endless suffering that has incorporated the most barbaric forms of violence. It has been passed from generation to generation, and has included, in our time, Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party. Every effort has been made by Blacks to gain freedom, from the pacific voices that have rung out from the brilliant Frederick Douglass to the enduring Fannie Lou Hamer, to the angry retorts that have resounded from Denmark Vesey to Robert Williams and the Deacons for Defense. For Horowitz to try to erode that history with his arrogant attempts to define how Black people ought to seek our freedom and how our leaders ought to behave is the most despicable aspect of his racism. It is the nucleus of a new and more radical racism.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

INTERCOMMUNALISM IN ACTION

by Sagie Govender

Just as South Africa's township policies today provide a means whereby the government controls the urban black population in townships around white cities that provide these cities with an accessible pool of readily available low cost labor--impoverished, segregated and easily exploited-- right here in certain urban areas of California, Urban Enterprise Zones are being institutionalized for precisely the same purpose (a note from an organizers speech).

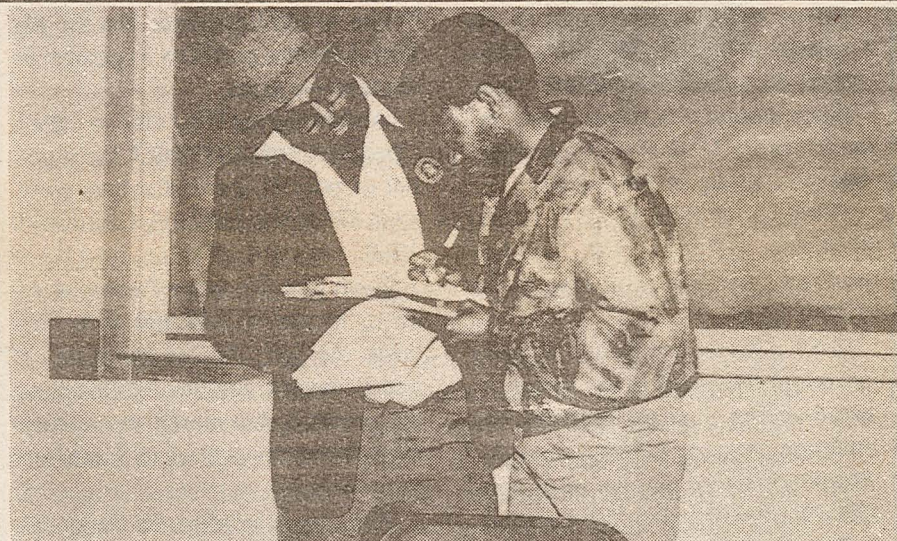
These zones, established in areas of high poverty and unemployment, where the poor, the low-income working class, and the minorities; desperate for jobs as survival; live, create an officially sanctioned and separated off workforce and surplus labor pool, denied choice in anything. They live forced to wage work; if conditions are of the highest existential standard available to them, far below the rate for the same jobs held by non-zone residents. Workers and residents in these zones are forced into an official caste status; even being transported at their own expense to adjacent business zones (a statistical secret -- none of the zones have created enough of the desperation they inspire to tempt a sufficient number of them for the government to adequately nationally socialize sufficient trained overseers into the large scale entrepreneur class) where zoned businesses are provided government attractions and incentives of not only a ready pool of cheap labor, but also tax credits as reverse grant at the free market expense investment income exemption, with wages subsidized by government if below the government mandated level.

In communities nationwide, in the 25 states where enterprise zoning has begun, low income unrecognized workers have provided a primary organized resistance to the zoning, which workers and organizers have begun to refer to as creation of "Soweto, USA". The organizing drives

have already collected selected COINTELPRO resistance, inadvertently revealing the depth and width of intelligence penetration into the arenas of traditional support which rely on the enemies favorite frontiers of the progressive, the institutions of religion and education, as well as the estate of the "official press." Politicians were manipulated from the first.

Just as South Africa is a collection of tactics for forced removal and denial of choice and voice, so the United States now uses large numbers of tactical government sponsorship of looting at the expense of low income and minority communities. So-called community redevelopment, financed and sanctioned through the federal department of Housing and Urban Development, has created an institution wherein--in the name of assistance to the poor-- entire communities of poor and minority residents are driven from their homes, against their will, provided with no relocation assistance or alternative housing whatsoever.

Right now, the areas of Oakland ANC personnel compared to Soweto, has redevelopment plans by local officials that threaten to remove thousands from the place they can afford to call home. These officials hope to exploit claims that this neighborhood, with its aging but privately owned housing became dangerous as result of the October 17, 1989 quake. By now these "planners" obtained funds for "emergency redevelopment plans." These monies will then be used to create more suffering by tearing down current low income housing and replacing it with more profitable enterprises--financed courtesy of tax dollars plus monies provided to the city by FEMA and the Red Cross, neither of whom was anywhere to be seen in the course of the suffering by those hardest hit--the same thousands of low income residents, and those left suffering and homeless-- following the quake.



Sagie Govender with South African delegate Mpho Lekgoro.

I could go on about tactics deployed by government and private interests to exploit the working poor and keep them from changing their conditions. But even more important and vital than the understanding of the similarities of the problems suffered by our people between organizers here and in South Africa who will not stand for these conditions to continue, is the solidarity we established as to the necessities of ways and means for change.

When Dr. Huey P. Newton introduced the term "revolutionary intercommunalism," he was describing a world situation in an era in which a ruling reactionary circle has laid siege upon the communities of the world, dominating its institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by the institutions in their own lands which purport to be established to serve their interests. In fact, the primary effect of these institutions is to rob from our low income and minority communities.

Dr. Newton saw very little difference between what goes on here in our low income and minority community of West Oakland and the situation of exploitation and oppression in South Africa. He saw very little difference between what goes on in the low income predominantly hispanic agricultural community of Watsonville and the situation of residents of Lawaakamp whose homes were destroyed with their possessions in them and where the George

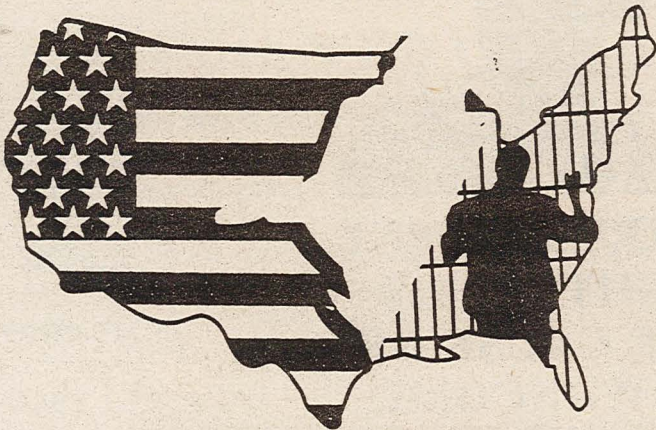
government have made it clear that it will not tolerate such a "run-down community" as Lawaakamp on its periphery.

The spirit of international struggle for change shall survive and grow as long as that heightened threshold, that takes the concept of internationalism into a new level of cognizance and collective force for structural change, survives and grows in the world today.

Here and there, we have come to see those lessons bear fruit before, as the basic premises of the silent war that claims its victims in starvation and desecration, while back home we are plagued with the chatter of machine guns and the burning of our homes. It is the understanding of this war that verifies and commands our trust and presence in that universal sea that we and others like us the world over must learn to share as our equity, in a world whose weight has and will continue to shift, as platforms strong enough to bear us all are constructed.

In truth, the most exciting times in time have now arrived, and those who were born and bred to thrive on the adversity of that arrival must now be heard in what must be said. We must stand for the equity of the struggle of the most concerned on behalf of those forgotten ones of our communities who once could only measure their existence by what they would pay in lives to labor for yet another day.

U.S. LEADS WORLD IN IMPRISONMENT RATE



An Increasing Percentage Is Made Up Of Black People

The United States now has the highest incarceration rate in the world, a nonprofit research and advocacy group said recently.

The Sentencing Project, a 5-year-old organization that promotes alternatives to incarceration, noted that more than a million people are behind bars in the United States, or an average of 426 inmates for every 100,000 residents. That is more than twice the number of U.S. prisoners in 1980, although the crime rate has declined slightly since then, the report said.

South Africa has the second highest imprisonment rate, with an average of 333 prisoners for every 100,000 residents. The Soviet Union, which recently has released a number of political prisoners, is third with 268 inmates per 100,000 residents.

An increasing percentage of the U.S. prison population is made up of black people, many of them convicted of drug offenses, the report said. In 1984, black people accounted for 30 percent of all drug arrests; in 1988, they accounted for 38 percent.

"If we continue to pursue the policies of the 1980's, we can expect that black males may truly become the 'endangered species' that many have predicted," said the report.

The organization recommended the establishment of a national commission to study ways to reduce crime and imprisonment; more emphasis on drug treatment and rehabilitation programs; the repeal of mandatory minimum sentencing laws and more "community policing" programs that stress ties between officers and neighborhoods.

CONTROL UNIT PRISONS IN THE U.S.

The Federal Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois was opened in 1963 as the placement for Alcatraz Prison. Federal prisons are given security ratings, with one being the least secure up to rate six being the most secure. Marion is the only level six prison.

It was in the 1960's, just when Marion was being opened, that the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) was re-examining how to maintain control. Part of the effort focused on psychological, as well as physical, control.

One of the first steps in this process was a program called START (Special Treatment and Rehabilitation Training), implemented at Springfield Penitentiary, which kept inmates locked up and without activity for extended periods. When this program was shut down because of public outcry, the "box car" cells were then introduced at Marion. These cells were soundproof, sealed, and at times heated like an oven. Marion would thus be an experimental laboratory that would also include the use of drugs and other behavior modification techniques.

The first Control Unit at Marion was established in July, 1972 following a peaceful inmate protest after a guard beat up a Mexican prisoner. By 1981, the BOP had developed a full plan on how to turn all of Marion into a Control Unit.

The 400 or so men at Marion have experienced brutal, dehumanizing conditions:

- On the average, inmates are let out of their cells only one and a half hours a day, and this is limited to a shower and "recreation" in the immediate cell corridor.
- Men are chained spread eagle and naked to a concrete bunk for hours or even days at a time.
- Finger probes of the rectum are standard when returning from a hospital

or court. Officials claim that the purpose of these probes is to search for contraband. The inmates say that the purpose is to degrade and humiliate them and consider the probes to be rape.

- No contact visits are allowed (no prisoner can touch or be touched by a loved one).

- Work, educational programs and congregational services are virtually nonexistent.

- The inmates' water is drawn from a toxic waste dump.

The Bureau of Prison claims the measures are necessary for security, but one congressional audit found that 80 percent of the men at Marion were qualified for placement at less secure institutions. Other reports maintain that many men are sent to Marion for writing too many lawsuits, for protesting the brutality of the prison system, or for angering prison authorities in some other way.

Men like American Indian leader, Leonard Peltier, and Sekou Odinga, a member of the Black Liberation Army were sent directly to Marion from court. These men, and others are sent to Marion before they have even served time in prison.

Control Unit brutality is proliferating; other state prison systems are copying the Marion model. In 1988, Michigan opened a Control Unit, dubbed "Super Max," in the town of Ionia. In Lexington, Kentucky, a federal Control Unit for women was built. When considerable protest and a lawsuit forced its closure, the BOP opened the first maximum security prison for women in Marinanna, Florida.

COMMITTEE TO END THE MARION LOCKDOWN
P.O. Box 578172, Chicago, IL
60657-8172

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Mark Cook #20025-2148H
USP Leavenworth
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Leavenworth KS 66048

Sekou Odinga #05228-054
s/n Nathaniel Burns
USP Marion
PO Box 1000
Marion IL 62959

Gary Tyler #84156
Louisiana State Penitentiary
Angola LA 70712

Sababu Na Uhuru #07350-016
s/n William Stoner
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Mercersburg PA 17236-0326

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Herman Bell #79-A-262
Bashir Hameed #82-A-6313
Mohaman Koti #80-A-808
Shawangunk Corr Facility
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Wallkill NY 12589

Johnny Imani Harris #2-373s
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Atmore AL 36503

Herman Ferguson #89-A-4621
Attica Corr Facility
PO Box 149
Attica NY 14011-0149

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Richard Mafundi Lake #79972
100 Warrior Lane
Bessemer AL 35023

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Dallas PA 18612-0286

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s/n Grailing Brown

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Awali Stoneham #B-98168
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Southport Corr Facility
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Pine City NY 14871

Richard Thompson-El #155229
Box 10
Stillwater MN 55082

Jalil A. Muntaghi #77-A-4283
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Greenhaven State Prison
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Stormville NY 12582-0010

Abdul Haqq #141-88-1173
s/n Craig Randall
HDM Rikers Island
1414 Hazen St.
E. Elmhurst NY 11470

Thomas Warner #M3049
Drawer R
Huntington PA 16652

Maliki Shakur Latine #81-A-4469
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Kazi Toure
s/n Chris King
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Lewisburg PA 17837

Robert Taylor #10376-054
FCI Otisville
PO Box 1000
Otisville NY 10903

Martin Rutrell #042600
FCI Raiford
UCI 68-2018 Box 221
Raiford FL 320283

Adbul Majid #83-A-483
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Comstock NY 12821

Teddy (Jah) Heath #75-A-0139
Sullivan Corr Facility
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Mondo Langa
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COP KILLS EAST OAKLAND MAN DRINKING COGNAC IN PUBLIC

Oakland police officer Gregory Rickman shot and killed a man who had been drinking from a cognac bottle as he walked near Seminary and Foothill Boulevard.

Mario Blueford, 26, of Oakland was shot three times in the early hours of January 3rd by Rickman, who had initially tried to stop him for drinking in public, investigators said.

Strangely, two local newspapers (the Oakland Tribune and the S.F. Examiner)

printed two different accounts of the killing on the same day.

The Tribune said that Blueford had a .22-caliber pistol which "was found on the ground a few feet from his body;" while the Examiner reported that Blueford drew a 9mm pistol from his waistband.

Last Labor Day Officer Rickman shot and wounded a 15-year-old boy. He was placed on administrative leave by the department pending investigation.

By Harry Harris
The Tribune

1-3-91

Man who pulls gun on cop is shot dead

As Rickman got out of the car, Blueford started running southbound on Seminary. With Rickman chasing him on foot and yelling for him to stop, Blueford ran onto Fortune Way, where he pulled a .22-caliber semiautomatic pistol from his waistband, Thiem said.

Rickman, who was about 6 feet behind Blueford, drew his own semiautomatic pistol and fired when he saw Blueford partially turn and point the .22-caliber pistol at him, Thiem said. The gun, which was loaded with five bullets, was found on the ground a few feet from Blueford's body.

SF EXAMINER

1-3-91

Homicide Sgt. Dan Mercado said that Officer Greg Rickman and his partner were on routine patrol in East Oakland about 12:50 a.m. when they spotted three men drinking from a cognac bottle near the intersection of Seminary Avenue and Foothill Boulevard.

When Rickman attempted to

cite Blueford, who authorities said was holding the bottle, Blueford fled on foot with the officer in hot pursuit. As they approached Fortune Way, Blueford stopped and pulled a 9mm pistol from his waistband and pointed it at the officer, who was about six feet away, police said.

BERKELEY COP SHOTS INNOCENT MAN

A Berkeley police officer has been placed on administrative leave pending investigation of an accidental shooting of a Berkeley resident.

The victim, Mark A. Samuals, 26, was treated for a gunshot wound in the shoulder and released from Highland Hospital.

Berkeley Police Capt. Phil Doran said the officer, whom he refused to identify,

was advancing with other officers on a group of loiterers in the 1500 block of Fairview in South Berkeley.

The officers had their guns drawn, Doran said, because in their minds, they needed to have their weapons ready."

The officer's gun accidentally misfired, shooting Samuals, claimed the police captain.



HARRY LINDSEY FIGHTER FOR THE CAUSE OF LOW-INCOME WORKERS DIES

Harry Lindsey, civil rights activist, former member of the Black Panther Party, and leading organizer and community activist on behalf of Philadelphia's service workers, departed this life 26 November at Philadelphia Nursing Home, after a year-long period of illness and paralysis.

Known to friends and family as "Lindsey," he was born on 27 September 1931, to the late Ann Fisher in Mount Holly, New Jersey.

Lindsey is survived by his brother, Sgt. George Lee Choung of Buffalo, N.Y. and a host of aunts, uncles, cousins, friends, and fellow organizers.

5 DEPUTIES, L.A. COP INDICTED FOR DRUG MONEY-SKIMMING

LOS ANGELES - Five sheriff's deputies and a police officer have been indicted in a major drug money-skimming scandal that already has led to the convictions of seven other deputies.

A federal grand jury alleged in the 34-count indictment the six lawmen lied to get search warrants, beat suspects, planted drugs, stole cash and other property, prepared false police reports and lied in court.

The six were all members of the Lennox Crew or Southwest Crew, narcotics teams led by former sheriff's Sgt. Robert Sobel.

The defendants are deputies Jesse Miller, John Edner, Robert Tolmaire, Robert Garcia and Edward Jamison and Los Angeles police officer, Stephen Polak.

Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates said he feels betrayed by the actions of the officer who faces charges in the case.

Undersheriff Robert Edmonds said the new indictments are tragic.

IN MEMORY OF

MAUDE LOUISE STEPHENSON-CAREY - Born in 1915 in Sardis, Alabama. Passed away December 23, 1990 in Detroit, Michigan. She is survived by six children, eighteen grandchildren and two great grandchildren.

IN MEMORY OF

BABY ZURI KIILU NYASHA-MOORE - Born January 24, 1988, in San Francisco California, is survived by her mother, Lalia LaRue Nyasha, and father, Dajuan Moore; her grandmother Kiilu Nyasha; her grandfather, John M. Davis; her uncle Michael Gallyot; and her loving extended Family: Shona, Ashaki, Hiroji, Geronimo, Exodus and Family; Dominique, Kimberly, Maggie and family; Shawn and family; and a host of friends who loved her.

May her light shine in our hearts forever.

FALLEN COMRADES



ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER



JOHN JEROME HUGGINS

Assassinated: January 17, 1969

The combined creative talents of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Jerome Huggins infused the fledgling Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party with a determination and revolutionary commitment far stronger than the normal social binds among individuals.

Little by little, day after day, Bunchy and John forged the Example for their people, tempered by a new love and devoted to the struggle for a new day. Their deaths, on January 17, 1969, at the hands of cowardly members of the US organization, served only to set forth a glow in the darkness, lighting a spiraling road up the mountain, to Freedom and Liberation.

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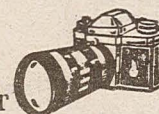
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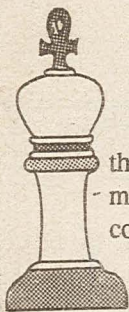
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THE BISHOP'S BASSLINE

What's up, Brothers and Sisters. I hate to keep preaching on knowledge, but it's the only way we can overcome this wicked racist system. To find out about your own personal history, I am showing you a piece written by my man, Ray Tompkins. So peep it out. I also have a gangster Hip Hop Top 10 for you to listen to before the next issue comes. So read my man's article and stay strong.

BLACK GENEALOGY: WHERE TO LOOK FOR HELP

In the beginning, American colonists who depended on cheap labor relied mainly on European indentured servants, people who sold their labor for seven years in return for passage to America. Soon, however, the needs of southern planters outstripped the supply of bond servants, and Black slaves were imported to take their place. The increase in the slave trade was so great, in fact, that by 1776 twenty percent of the colonial population had African ancestors. Twenty five percent of the blacks captured in Africa and sold to slavers came from Angola, another 25 percent from Biafra, and the rest from the Gold Coast, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and other parts of West Africa.

An African's trip to America, described in Alex Haley's *ROOTS*, was almost unimaginable. Shackled hand and foot to a plank, with 18 inches of head room, he or she was forced to lie in body wastes for days, even weeks. If one could free himself, he often committed suicide. Often half of those taken aboard did not survive the trip.

When the Civil War brought an end to the slave trade there were approximately 4.5 million persons of African descent in America, 90 percent of them living in the South.

Although Alex Haley with his monumental work *ROOTS* has brought Black genealogy into sharp focus today, he isn't the first Black to be highly conscious of his family's past. For example, W.E.B. DuBois, founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), traced his genealogy back to the 17th century in his autobiography, *DUSK OF DAWN*.

Although more and more libraries are collecting works on the 15 million Africans brought to America, the major library for Black family historians (outside of the National Archives) is the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 103 West 135th Street, New York, New York 10030. The center has a number of useful tools, including a complete set of the Federal population censuses from 1790 to 1890, which, most importantly, includes the slave schedules. It also has valuable papers, pictures, and other memorabilia of prominent Black families, the 10-volume encyclopedia, *The Negro Heritage*; and extensive church and military records valuable to Black ancestor hunters.

The Shomburg Center will act as a repository for any family histories

Black ancestor hunters compile. If we decide to deposit a copy of our research with the center, we will know that our work has helped to illuminate what historian Wyat Tee Walker has called the "Cultural Blackout" for the Black in America.

In the South, state archives, probate court records (which house wills) and county records are good places to look for the "owner" of Black slave ancestors. Plantation owner's wills, especially, listed slaves by specific names (something the federal census did not do until 1870) and often contained bits of narrative about slaves' personalities. A deed to the slave (who was considered property) was filed by the owner at the courthouse.

Because many slaves were not able to read and write (indeed, were forbidden to learn), most slave records in the South are owner's property records. A great collection of these—plantation daybooks, auctioneers' sales charts, slave registrations, and even insurance policies on slaves—can be found in the state archives of many southern states, and at Louisiana State University, Dept. of Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803.

HOW TO RECORD YOUR INTERVIEWS WITH RELATIVES

There are two ways to record and interview—(1) using a tape recorder, or (2) taking notes in your notebook.

The tape recorder is by far the better technique. It frees you to listen more fully; you can be sure you are getting every word said; it allows you to be alert to every change of expression; and you won't have to decode your handwriting days later. With tape you can record a real oral history of your family.

Use high quality tapes on all interviews so that the sound of their voices and the accents or colloquial expressions they use will be extremely precious years later.

Be sure to mark the outside of the cassette with date, time, place, and person interviewed.

Interviewing an older relative requires thoughtfulness as well as tact. Here are a few courtesies you should observe:

1. Make the appointment no longer than an hour and a half. The idea is to make it pleasant, not exhausting. Make a second and a third appointment, if necessary.
2. Don't assume they can't hear well and shout at them. Just talk slowly, pronouncing words distinctly.
3. The five Ws of reporting—Who, What, Where, When, Why (and sometimes How)—are good guidelines for phrasing questions.
4. Interview the relative alone, if you can, to preclude any possible influence from others present. (Sometimes after individual interviews, a joint interview, with each person jogging the other's memory, will get new information or correct and clarify the old.)
5. Ask important questions first. If you do, you'll have all the vital information in case your visit must be cut short for any reason.
6. Don't try to make them stick to your question if they don't want to. Let the conversation flow. Try to listen more than talk. Later you can come back and say, "Now, what was great-great grandma's name again?"
7. Don't overlook family friends and long-time neighbors when you interview. Even if they have no facts, they may give a fresh perspective to the information you already have.
8. Send them a copy of the transcribed interview for their corrections. The value of this is great, for they will add as much as they correct.

— Ray Tompkins

FIRE AT EBONY MUSEUM OF ART

OAKLAND — The Ebony Museum of Art, located in West Oakland, was victim of a fire last month that destroyed 10,000 items. The Black history museum represents 22 years of collecting art, books, toys and memorabilia.

The three story Victorian house is also the home of Aissatoui Vernita, who for the past 10 years has drawn about 12,000 visitors a year to her Black folk art collection.

Last year, the Loma Prieta earthquake damaged the house, destroying \$21,000 worth of displays, and it is believed that undiscovered earthquake damage was the cause of the fire.

Oakland City Council member Aleta Cannon, who inspected the damage, said she would ask the city council to consider some emergency help, while Vernita has started her own fund raising to repair the museum.

She is also collecting names of volunteers willing to help with reconstruction. For more information, call the museum at (415) 763-0141.



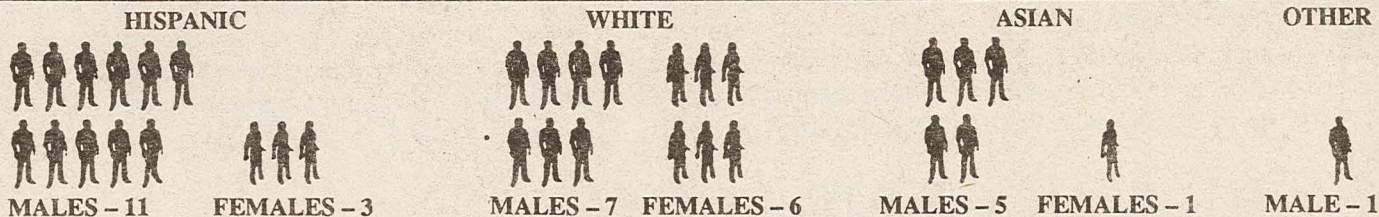
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Breakdown of murders
by sex and ethnic group



WHAT'S UP?

Out of 161 homicides in Oakland last year,
127 (nearly 80%) were Black!

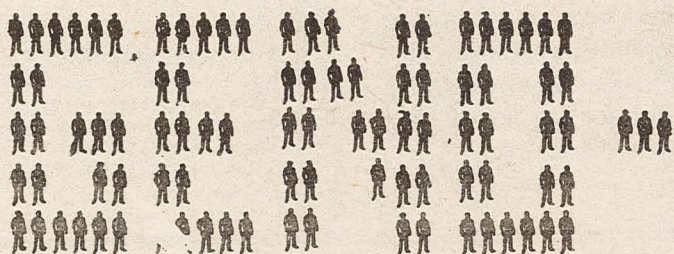
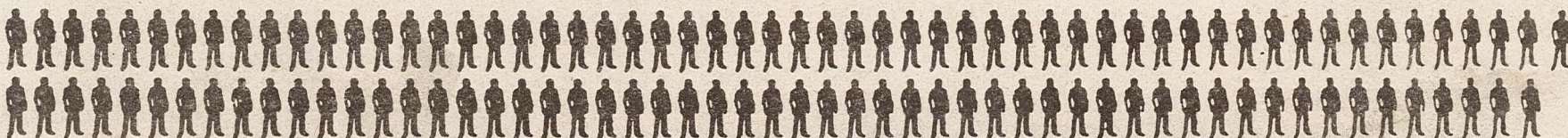
Homicide, which is the leading cause of death for Black men between the ages of 15 and 24, increased by two-thirds over the past four years, according to the National Centers for Disease Control. In 1987, the last year for which complete figures were available, the murder rate for young Black men was six times greater than the rate for all Americans of the same age.

BLACK FEMALES

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BLACK MALES - 111



SUICIDE